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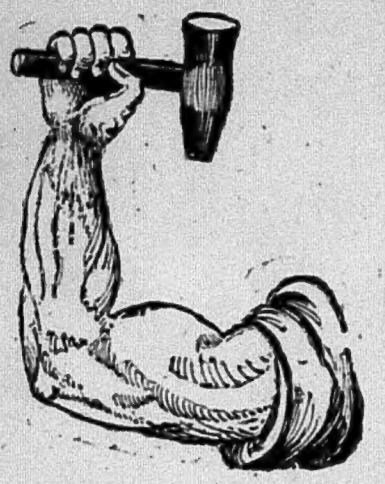
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VOL. VII.—NO. 32.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 7, 1897.

PRICE 3 CENTS.



THE VOTE.

The Arm and Hammer
Strikes Heavier Blows
Everywhere.

Worcester, Mass.: Phila-
delphia, Penn.: Long Island
City and Buffalo, N. Y.: Provi-
dence, R. I.: Salt Lake City,
Utah, Leap Forward.

Leon Beats the Republican
Candidate for the Assembly in
the 16th Assembly District
with over 1,800 Votes.

Decided Increase in Greater New
York.

Borough of New York

Although the returns are incomplete
on the vote polled by Cuno, the head
of the State ticket, they enable the fol-
lowing comparison with Matchett's poll
of last year:

Ass. Distr.	Cuno, 1897.	Matchett, 1896.
1.....	21	18
2.....	91	121
3.....	53	49
4.....	504	661
5.....	52	54
6.....	238	239
7.....	51	48
8.....	470	627
9.....	96	97
10.....	729	798
11.....	119	105
12.....	1943	935
13.....	178	186
14.....	579	460
15.....	151	141
16.....	1170	961
17.....	114	151
18.....	234	211
19.....	87	89
20.....	98	101
21.....	103	99
22.....	177	141
23.....	137	124
24.....	219	308
25.....	37	35
26.....	546	578
27.....	20	21
28.....	598	553
29.....	43	41
30.....	504	584
31.....	75	49
32.....	406	369
33.....	180	192
34.....	235	290
35.....	509	553
Annex Distr.	37	36
Total.....	10,953	10,928

Complete returns from New York
County raise the vote to nearly 11,000,
and indicate an even larger figure, mak-
ing an increase of over 1,000 over last
year. In the territory of Greater New
York the vote last year was 14,418; in-
dications are that it will this year
reach and pass 16,000.

The Assembly District that shows the
largest increase is the sixteenth, where
Comrade De Leon was running for the
Assembly. There the head of the ticket
gained nearly 200 votes over last year;
while De Leon, for Assembly, polled
1,858 votes, or over 800 votes more than
the party's candidate for the Assembly
did last year. Another of the districts
showing an increase was the twelfth,
where Comrade Bennett ran for As-
sembly.

Borough of Brooklyn.
The following comparison may be
made, although here, too, the returns
are incomplete:

Ward.	Cuno, 1897.	Matchett, 1896.
1.....	18	15
2.....	14	40
3.....	38	31
4.....	20	17
5.....	21	23
6.....	55	57
7.....	68	15
8.....	91	77
9.....	42	38
10.....	48	45
11.....	32	23
12.....	60	48
13.....	39	51
14.....	73	73
15.....	86	91
16.....	508	477
17.....	247	242
18.....	144	157
19.....	170	171
20.....	16	13
21.....	281	278
22.....	150	101
23.....	32	37
24.....	21	20
25.....	53	46
26.....	362	306
27.....	492	481
28.....	638	508
29.....	26	22
30.....	21	21
31.....	3	2
32.....	4	5
Total.....	3,865	3,181

From all parts of New York State.
Rochester, Nov. 3.—Sixty-five out of
ninety-one Districts give Cuno 491; we
will reach 600. Last year Matchett got
466.

Long Island City, Nov. 2.—Cuno, the
head of the Socialist ticket, polls 400
votes; this is about 100 more than last
year, when we polled 303.

Yonkers, Nov. 2.—The Socialist vote
here runs up to 383, a growth of fully
100.

Stapleton (part of Greater New
York), Nov. 2.—We cast 73 votes for
Cuno, against 25 last year. In the
whole county of Richmond, we shall
have 300, against 138 last year.

Oneida, Nov. 2.—The Socialist vote is
50; 27 last year.

Gloversville, Nov. 2.—Gloversville
polls for the Socialist candidate for
Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals
101 votes, for member of Assembly
Schwenmer 108. Last year our poll
was 58. In Johnstown also the Social-
ist vote has increased perceptibly.

Lindenhurst, Nov. 2.—For Cuno 27,
for Burrows 25.

College Point, Nov. 4.—In 1896, for
Matchett, 61. This year 110 for Cuno.

Jamaica, Nov. 4.—First District, 15;
Second, 16; Third, 8; Fourth, 29; Fifth,
5; Sixth, 9; Seventh, 2; Eighth, 1; Ninth
and Tenth, none; Eleventh, 1; Twelfth,
2; Thirteenth, none; Fourteenth and
Fifteenth to be heard from. This
shows an increase.

Riverhead, Nov. 4.—Suffolk County
gives Cuno 75, an increase of 14.

Buffalo, Nov. 4.—Returns from 72
Election Districts give a Socialist in-
crease; 604 votes this year, 406 last; 82
Districts yet to be heard from. The
total last year in the whole city was
515, so that with more than half the
city to hear from we are now ahead. In
three Election Districts the Arm and
Hammer smashed the Republicans.

Peeckskill, Nov. 4.—We polled here 25
votes in eight districts, and more to
hear from. Last year all together, 17.

Syracuse, Nov. 4.—In this county of
Onondaga, Cuno polled 865, against 713
last year for Matchett.

Oneonta, Nov. 4.—Our vote in the
Otsego County is 56; 9 last year.

Newburg, Nov. 4.—We are credited
with 178 votes; last fall 41.

Other parts of the Country.

Salt Lake City, Utah.—At the election
here the Socialist vote was 1,666.

Paterson, N. J., Nov. 2.—Our increase
over last year exceeds 200. Yesterday
I was in Providence, R. I., where a large
meeting took place. It looks as if our
vote will grow there, too.

MAT. MAGUIRE.

Jersey City Heights, Nov. 2.—The Social-
ist vote in the three Wards, 10th,
11th and 12th, has increased 58.

Jersey City, Nov. 2.—In the whole of
Hudson county the Socialist vote has
increased. In Ward 11, we grew from
81 to 128. In Guttenberg from 41 to 95.

West New York, Nov. 4.—The Social-
ist ticket gained here 17 votes; last
year we had 23, this year 40.

Elizabeth, N. J., Nov. 2.—Our vote
compared with last year is:

Ward	1897	1896
1.....	89	64
2.....	43	24
3.....	145	121
4.....	33	33
5.....	88	56
7.....	70	58

Holyoke, Mass., Nov. 2.—The Social-
ist candidate for Governor, Brophy,
polled here 337 votes.

Springfield, Mass., Nov. 2.—Brophy's
vote increased here from 98 last year
to 187 to-day.

Fitchburg, Mass., Nov. 2.—Brophy,
105; Buckland, 111.

Providence, R. I., Nov. 3.—For Mayor
in 1896, 355; for Mayor yesterday, 772.

Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 2.—Allegheny
County vote trebled. Wilmerding, 97
this year, last year 31; Bridgeville, 24
this year, last year 2; vote in State
more than doubled.

Boston, Nov. 4.—The returns show
large gains for the Socialist Labor
party in many cities in the State.

Twenty-eight cities, not including
Boston, give Thomas C. Brophy, Social-
ist candidate for Governor, 3,483, as
against 1,906 for the same candidate
last year.

The greatest gain was made in Wor-
cester, where he polled 968, against 129
last year, being a gain of more than 700
per cent. Brockton gave him 144,
against 45 last year.

The vote of Boston was not given out
last night at the election commission-
er's office—only that of Wolcott, Ever-
ett and Williams.

The following table shows the com-

LABOR FAKIRS

Selling out the Miners to the Mine
Barons.

While the Miners of the Belleville, Ill.,
District are Being Taxed to Support
their Striking Fellow Wageslaves of the
Consolidated Coal Company,
Officers of the Union are Taking Bribes
from the Company to Work Upon the
Strikers—Six Hundred Dollars
given to one.

BELLEVILLE, Ill., Oct. 30.—I would
like to let the miners who read THE
PEOPLE know how some of their lead-
ers and officers in this state tried to
sell out again the interests of the min-
ers, and how, fortunately, the thing
leaked out before the act was accom-
plished.

All the mines in the Belleville district
are working full; the operators are
paying the scale, and the miners are
getting top weight, except the Consoli-
dated Coal Company; they are stubborn
and are trying their best to break the
strike. Every miner in this district
has to give of every dollar; he earns ten
cents for the yet striking brethren of the
Consolidated Coal Company.

Some two weeks ago, Mr. John Green,
president of District of Belleville, went
to Mount Olive, Ill., to distribute said
funds among the strikers. There a
miner told him that he got two hundred
and fifty dollars from the Consolidated
Coal Company, and he was willing to
give it to Green to make use of among
the strikers. Green accepted. The man
further told Green that the State Presi-
dent of the miners, James Carson, got
six hundred dollars from said firm in
order to draw in some more leaders to
break the strike. The worthies in this
plot are James Carson, president of the
State organization of the miners, and
the leaders James Payn, Thomas Simp-
son, and William Norbury.

The miners here are very much sur-
prised about their being sold out, just
as if that were the first time it hap-
pened. Oh, fellow workmen, when will
your eyes be opened, when will you see
that you can't accomplish anything un-
der pure and simple unionism; that you
must go into political action and
do away with these scoundrels who
have been selling you out, and that
your emancipation can come only by
your joining the Socialist Labor Party,
and organizing in the Socialist Trade
and Labor Alliance! It is no wonder
that your leaders are mostly against
Socialism; they can't get boodle there,
and if they do dirty work they will be
handled accordingly. The way your
leaders are selling out, there are no
laws to hurt them. If we look to Car-
son's deed, as an officer, he must be
very low for letting himself be bribed
with only six hundred dollars. May the
miners in the near future become class-
conscious and overthrow the system
that produces such fakirs, by organiz-
ing in a way that the fakirs have no
show. Carson is not the only one; there
are lots more like him. L. N.

parison in 26 cities of the Socialist
Labor vote of 1896 and 1897:

	1897.	1896.
Gloucester	59	35
Cambridge	132	92
Waltham	20	11
Malden	88	46
Medford	11	14
Everett	76	39
Newton	11	17
Chicopee	44	26
Lowell	84	72
Somerville	73	66
Chelsea	73	51
Lynn	197	165
Salem	49	48
Quincy	20	25
New Bedford	154	167
Woburn	28	12
Worcester	968	129
Brockton	144	45
Beverly	56	14
Haverhill	252	144
Lawrence	256	209
Taunton	28	37
Newburyport	25	19
Fall River	149	141
Fitchburg	105	82
Springfield	173	96
Clinton	140	99
Rockland	66	2
Totals	3,483	1,906

The total vote is expected to reach
7,000.

Baltimore, Nov. 3.—Last year's vote
for Matchett was 450; this year's vote
for Whipkey, our only candidate, is
321, a considerable falling off. When
we consider the circumstances, how-
ever, we have done well to hold even
321 together. I did not expect over 200.

Section Baltimore has learned a
lesson, and we will NOT have the
pleasure (?) of such experiences again.
I believe that the vote in 1898 will show
that the conduct of such fellows as
Allenbaugh and Toner has been a bless-
ing to us instead of a catastrophe. Had
it not been for Comrade Keep the re-
sult of yesterday's election would have
shown a much greater slump. Section
Baltimore will now become a fighting
body.

Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 3.—The vote
last year in this city, 654. Have returns
already of more than 1,600 in this city;
this equals entire vote of State last
year.

Quakertown, Pa., Nov. 4.—There
were 10 votes polled in the borough for
the S. L. P. None last year.

Steubenville, O., Nov. 4.—There were
given to the S. L. P. 11 votes in this
place, against 4 last year.

Canton, O., Nov. 4.—Watkins, S. L. P.,
128; Coxey, Pop. 46.

Adams, Mass., Nov. 4.—Brophy, 105;
Buckland, 112; Barr, 107; Brown, 113;
Ballam, 105; Harrison, 111.

SOCIALISM AND CRIME.

A Lecture Delivered in Paris by
Enrico Ferri.

The Socialist Labor Party Deputy in the
Italian Parliament, Enrico Ferri, is
invited by the Socialist Students of
Paris to Deliver an Address in that
City on Socialism and Crime, and
Acquits Himself in Masterly Manner
Before a Large Audience—The Event
Reported by an American Comrade.

PARIS, Oct. 17.—Invited by the So-
cialist students of Paris, Professor En-
rico Ferri gave a very successful lecture
on "Socialism and Crime," in the hall
of the Learned Societies, the evening
of October 8th. Before the time for
opening the doors, a crowd was waiting
to be admitted, watched over by a num-
ber of policemen. Those who had ob-
tained tickets in advance, as advised in
the advertisements, were allowed to
enter first, while the others had to wait
to take their chances of being admitted.
If there should be room enough left.
In a short time every chair was taken
and many had to stand. Arriving early
and taking a seat in the center, I ob-
served the audience with much interest.
For it was the first Socialist meeting I
have attended in France. Besides the
workmen and students, who formed the
majority, there were many persons
who had the appearance of professors,
lawyers, and social and commercial
aristocrats. But meanwhile I reflected
that it is often difficult to judge
strangers by their appearance, for I
have seen an Emperor Napoleon-faced
coachman in the Bois de Boulogne, and
some of the handsomest and best-ap-
pearing men I have seen in Paris are
clerks and employees. For example,
the man that made out the bill for
freighting my trunk had such a gigan-
tic brain and statesmanlike forehead
that he "haunts my memory still." Some
of the students, it was pleasant to
observe, have the poetic face and en-
viable Roman profile of the heroes in
my illustrated edition of Victor Hugo.
There were not many women present,
in contrast to the public Socialist meet-
ings in America and Germany, which
are usually very well attended by
women.

Four or five Comrades were kept busy
selling Socialist literature among the
audience, which many wished to buy.
The pamphlets which were chiefly
offered, were: "Socialism in Italy," by
Enrico Ferri, with a portrait of the
author; Jean Jaures' addresses on
"Idealism and Materialism in their His-
torical Conception," "Socialism and the
Peasants," etc., the Party Platform, a
French translation of Marx' and Engel's
"Communist Manifesto," etc.

The editor-in-chief of "La Petite Re-
publique, journal socialiste," Gerault-
Richard, was chairman; he welcomed the
lecturer, thanking him for his ac-
ceptance of the organizers' invitation,
and expressing Millerand's and Viviani's
regrets that they were obliged to be
absent. As Professor Ferri ad-
dressed the audience he was greeted
with warm applause. To describe his
appearance—he is very handsome, with
a long face, a high and intellectual fore-
head, and expressive eyes; like most
Italians, he has dark hair; he is tall
and slender. He has a clear, sym-
pathetic voice, and his pronunciation
of French is so distinct that not a syl-
lable is lost. Before the lecturer ap-
peared, a German and American were
discussing the probabilities of being
able to understand the Italian's
French; one was afraid it would be
difficult, but the other said: "We shall
surely be able to understand him, for
a lecturer speaking a foreign language
always tries to enunciate more dis-
tinctly and slowly." The latter was
right, for in spite of Professor Ferri's
apology for his "unorthodox French,"
it was easy to hear him in any part of
the large hall. He began his lecture
by expressing his pleasure in address-
ing a French audience on a subject
which offers some of the most interest-
ing problems for solution by all who de-
sire the elevation of humanity. He said
that he was glad to revisit Paris, for it
was here that he finished his studies be-
gun in Italy; he was indebted to the
carefully compiled French statistics on
crime for the basis of his investiga-
tions. He reproached the conservative
scientists of to-day with having stopped
short in their researches on sociology,
which is the most important science of
all; they dare not proceed to the con-
clusion, to the truth, for that is Social-
ism. Some, with flippant sarcasm, say
that the relation of Socialism to crime
is that Socialists are criminals, that
they are bandits who wish to incite one
class against the other, to stir up a
revolution, and that crime is fostered
by Socialism. He is glad that the time
has gone by when philosophers and
scientists revealed their wisdom to the
world in such obscure and pedantic
language that common-sense men could
not understand them. Science is now
popularized, and to this is due the re-
sult that the proletariat has reached the
dignity of class organization.

He then proceeded to analyze the
nature of crime and the character of
the criminal. The orthodox theologian
and the orthodox jurist teach that man
is a free moral agent and is therefore
responsible for his acts. He questioned
the truth of this, and asked if an in-
dividual is free in acting or not acting
in a certain manner. He said that the
individual is not free, for all his actions
are the results of hundreds of events
that occurred before he was born, the
results of heredity, and of the circum-
stances in which he is placed. Darwin's
researches are of extreme value to the
sociologist; he has accomplished a great
work for science in tracing the rela-
tions of physical and mental condi-

tions, in demonstrating the laws of
heredity.

In the courts it is not a man that is
tried, but an act. A crime has been
committed, a man is arrested and
brought to court; the efforts of the
lawyers are all exerted to fasten that
crime upon that man or to free him
from it. If he is condemned, his pun-
ishment is determined by iron laws.
They do not investigate sufficiently the
causes of crime or the previous life
and circumstances of the criminal, be-
cause they would by that process prove
the irresponsibility of the criminal or
would condemn society. The sources of
human conduct are the mind, the emo-
tions felt, and the social environment.
The proof of this is that all classes of
society furnish their share of criminals.

He protested against the cruelty of
capital punishment and solitary im-
prisonment. It is barbarous to lock a
criminal up in a damp and dreary cell,
without efforts for his improvement,
without recreation, without hope, for a
number of years, and then after he has
become bodily wrecked and half crazed
or idiotic to let him loose again to earn
his living with the warning that if he
commits another misdeed, vengeance
awaits him. Of what benefit are tor-
ments that do not reform the criminal
but only harden him and fill him with
hatred for society? It is humane treat-
ment and association with benevolent
men that civilize and reclaim, but not
tortures and vengeance. "I am a
Roman, but I detest Roman law!" ex-
claimed the orator with emphasis.

Law is absurdly inconsistent in its
cruelty. A poor and honest man who
hunts for work in vain, is left to starve
or freeze to death, while a criminal is
lodged in jail and boarded free of ex-
pense. A man of education and culture
can steal thousands and millions of
dollars without thereby unfitting him-
self for holding a high government
position; but a poor man who steals to
keep his mother, wife, or children from
starvation is branded as a criminal and
is condemned to long years of imprison-
ment.

He showed that poverty and misery
on the one hand, and idleness and lux-
ury on the other are fertile sources of
crime. In concluding, he expressed the
belief that crime will almost wholly dis-
appear when society is reorganized on
the basis of equal education and equal
advantages for the development of the
abilities of every individual, and when
humanity has established the right of
each of its members to life and happi-
ness.

As Professor Ferri left the platform,
the audience rose and gave him long
and enthusiastic applause.

THEODORE RITTER.

SALVATION ARMY CHARITY.

POLK, Pa., Nov. 1.—The milk
of human kindness is too rare and val-
uable to deride on any occasion, and I am
glad that the Salvation Army has in-
terested enough in the unfortunates that
it ministers to try to alleviate their
many miseries, but it is the kind of ser-
vice only that sympathy can render to
the mortally wounded, which does all in
its power, yet cannot avert the ap-
proaching death of the patient.

Of the 12,000 fallen women, passing
through the 74 homes so provided for
them, 85 per cent. of whom are claimed
to be restored to a respectable living,
how many, by securing such havens,
thus show the door to the opportunity
to others to remain in respectability?

And this laborious rescue of one set of
unfortunates has to be made by mak-
ing room for them in situations that
have to be vacated by an equal number
of new unfortunates, who are forced to
exchange places with the "redeemed."
In the competition for a situation, an
occupant of any of the 11 shelter depots
receiving food and shelter at a nominal
price, and often gratuitously, can un-
derbid an applicant for the same "job" not
so fortunately situated, who then per-
haps becomes an object of benevolence
at some of the same institutions, to re-
peat the operation, and make three
more souls happy, the man who is so
enabled to underbid, the one (or many)
that gave the assistance, and last, but
not least, the employer, who has to part
with less of the product of such em-
ployee than otherwise. And each situ-
ation found for any refugee from any
of their 17 prison gate homes for ex-
convicts, means, in the end, just that
many situations lost for that many
persons hitherto employed; not that I
object to the helping of the ex-con-
victs, nor do I wish to discourage the
kindly intentioned acts of the Salva-
tionists. I just call the attention to the
similarity of the process to that of a dog
trying to catch his tail—get one person
a job that you may throw another one
out, and then rescue him, too, in the
same manner. The 10 farm colonies, 8
servants' homes, 5 hospitals, 44 fac-
tories and workshops, 33 bureaus for
temporary and "permanent" (?) em-
ployment, finding, it is claimed, em-
ployment for over 12,000 men annually;
3 poor men's lawyer departments, 42
bureaus for tracing lost and missing
relatives, 1 collection bureau, and the 82
slum posts, all in this country; all are
bringing up the knocked out competi-
tors to the scratch again, to intensify
the beautiful competitive shindy. I am
glad that these unfortunates are not
left to die unaided; I am glad that per-
sons are found with hearts soft enough
to see to it that they don't; I am willing
to have the hat passed around in order
to have the misery passed around, but,
unless the members of the Salvation
Army really enjoy curing misery by
making more to cure, since they are in a
position to see the awful array of com-
petitive cripples dumped upon the
bosoms of the sympathetic by cap-
italism, it seems that they should work
with all their might to aid the Socialists
in removing the cause of all of the
economic and most of the ethical
troubles that fill the world with woe.

O. N. E. LACKALL.

SOCIAL DUTIES.

THE PEOPLE.

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—EVERY SUNDAY—

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1884 (Presidential)..... 2,068
In 1888 (Presidential)..... 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 32,133
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564

OUR VOTE.

Despite the postponement of the issue of THE PEOPLE twenty-four hours, the reports that we are able to publish are far from complete. They afford only a very partial idea of the actual facts.

In the State of New York we have certainly grown; likewise in the Greater New York. Purged of impure elements, the party has in the city, carried on the aggressive campaign that becomes it, and emerges as everywhere else, from where we have returns, with added strength. Nay, more, for the first time in New York's history, a Socialist candidate for no less an office than member of the State Assembly, comes out second in the race in this city, our party's candidate for the Assembly from the Sixteenth District having polled 1,858 votes, or nearly 600 more than his Republican adversary.

In Pennsylvania, the vote is reported to have doubled; in Massachusetts, it has taken quite a step forward; from New Jersey, the reports are meager, yet leave no doubt of an increase; in Rhode Island, the Providence vote for Mayor is twice that of last year.

Ohio, Colorado, Michigan, Virginia have not yet been heard from—thanks to the intentional suppression of our vote by the capitalist press.

The campaign of '97 is closed; that of '98 opens. The Socialist knows that every victory of the old parties brings these closer to their graves, and paves the way for the ultimate victory of Socialism.

To urge on the day of this final consummation, the S. L. P. furnishes up its implements of warfare, put to such hard and good use this year, and makes ready to put them to further and immediate use, with the certainty of increased results.

HOW THE SINGLE TAX GROWS.

In 1886, Henry George polled over 68,000 votes in the old New York city. That vote he claimed for the single tax.

In 1887, Henry George determined to leave no doubt about it that the poll of the previous year was for the single tax. He drew up a platform accordingly, and polled in the old New York city and Brooklyn combined 52,000 votes—15,000 votes less than the previous year in New York city alone.

This year his son, by whose election "a monument was to be raised to the philosopher of the single tax," polled in the Greater New York, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond counties combined 18,000 votes—50,000 less than polled in New York city alone, and 35,000 less than polled in 1887 in New York and Brooklyn combined.

The single tax should take for its symbol a cow's tail—it grows downward.

DICK CROKER'S UNERRING JUDGMENT.

"As sure as anything can be, our ticket will be elected"; these were the words of the leader of the Tammany Democracy immediately after the nomination of his ticket and while it was being met by a storm of ridicule from the majority of the New York capitalists' papers, who styled it the "Yellow dog ticket." Dick Croker was right. Was it a shrewd guess on his part? No. Was it that his nominees were men of high moral and intellectual stature, commanding the respect and admiration of the community? This was notably not the case. Was it that his organization was one of such perfection and strength that it could compel victory? All those who know the situation of things in New York are aware of the fact that, whatever may one time have been said about the vigor of the Tammany organization, that time had passed. The "reform" victory of three years ago had inflicted serious wounds upon Tammany; its strongholds in office had been mostly captured and itself dislodged from them; its strongholds in the electorate had been dismantled; under the pretext of building parks, the most solid Tammany quarters, regular bandit rat-holes, were cleared; the poverty, that all this threw the Tammany organization into, brought on the usual result of dissensions: Tammany Hall was rent by intestine feuds; formerly powerful bodies of its constituencies seceded under prominent

chieftains. Take it all in all, Tammany had been bleeding at its vitals for nearly three years, and, as an organization, was a staggering cripple when the campaign opened, and during the whole of its process down to election night. Whence, then, did Dick Croker gather the conviction of victory, since he could not gather it from any knowledge of pristine strength?

Dick Croker's certainty of victory proceeded from his knowledge of the popular distress, that growing and spreading down to last year, so far from stopping, increased since McKinley's election and inauguration. Tammany is the recognized Democratic organization of New York. The masses have, like sheep, flocked from the Republican party organization every time that they felt distress under the Democratic party organization, and have as regularly flocked back to the Democratic every time they felt distressed under the Republican party organization. Since '93, driven by distress under the Democracy, they have been flopping to the Republicans; their distress increasing, even after the culmination of Republican success with McKinley's election. It was clear that the tide had arrived for a receding of the tide from the Republican and its flow to the Democratic organization. Croker's judgment was correct; it proceeded from a keen insight into these facts.

This is more important than might seem at first sight.

There flows from it, in the first place, the conclusion that the imbecile flocking backward and forward from Republicans to Democrats and vice versa, is a result of the masses' being kept in ignorance of the economic reasons for their increasing distress, and in ignorance of the existence of a political party movement, the Socialist Labor party, whose very existence is born of these economic reasons, and, consequently, is alone able to cope with and end them.

In the second place it explains why, despite all the violence of language against Tammany before election, now, after election, there is an undertone of relief in the utterances of the "anti-Tammany" press. THE DAY WHEN, DESPITE THE INCREASING POVERTY OF THE WORKING CLASS UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF EITHER OF THE OLD PARTIES, IT DOES NOT, ON ELECTION DAY, TURN TO THE OTHER, IT WILL BE BECAUSE THE WORKING CLASS HAS CAUGHT SIGHT OF THE HEADLIGHTS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AND HAS TURNED TO IT.

"A thousand times rather Tammany than the S. L. P.," thus argues, and justly for itself, the anti-Tammany capitalist class. The suppression of all information on the S. L. P. was necessary this year for Tammany's victory. Croker knew he could rely upon that aid from his fellow capitalist foes, who still hold the principal means to distribute such information.

Hence Croker's judgment as to the result was correct. Hence also the propagandism of Socialism receives a valuable pointer for future action.

HENRY GEORGE.

The sudden death of Henry George, only four days before election, drew a heavy line across the reckoning of that capitalist conspiracy, and irreparably smashed that unhallowed capitalist political scheme that gave birth to his candidacy.

Henry George was in no wise a representative of the working class—class-conscious or otherwise—much less a forerunner of the Social Revolution. He impersonated just the reverse of these. The approach of a revolutionary period is ever apt to heat into life the archest reactionists and reactionary ideas; and these then present themselves with such vehemence of language, such pathos of thought and in such revolutionary garb that they are liable to be mistaken for the ideas and the apostles of the Revolution itself, while, in point of fact, they are, at best, only the symptoms of these.

These circumstances made Henry George the subject and victim of a conspiracy concocted by the capitalist parties in the campaign that just closed. He was set up by them as a "people's" as an "anti-boss," "anti-monopoly" candidate, as a foe to all that the capitalist conspirators stood for. They calculated upon the popular, yet, to their own knowledge, mistaken impression that he was their adversary; they relied upon the attractiveness of some of his antecedents to draw to himself the swelling vote of the discontented, which they knew they were fast forfeiting, and which they knew was bound sooner or later to gravitate with full force toward the dreaded Socialist Labor party; they raised him as a joint savior for them all, and, incidentally, as a wedge against one another in their mutual and internal wrangles.

That Henry George was not what the capitalist papers were pretending in the campaign was sufficiently demonstrated by the presence of the infamous capitalist lackey, Judge Chas. H. Van Brunt, on Henry George's "Democracy of Thomas Jefferson" ticket, together with this Van Brunt's presence on the tickets of all the other parties of capitalist-Tammany, Low's Citizens, Union, and Tom Platt's Republican. This fact demonstrated that Henry George's leading theories and whole attitude had sufficiently demonstrated to all careful

observers. Nor did the fact pass unperceived. As the campaign proceeded George's campaign sank, despite all hysterical efforts, and indecent deceptions used by the capitalist press to blow life into it, and thereby seek to scuttle the Socialist Labor party.

That the Platt-Tracy-Low-Johnson scheme of swindle, to which the candidacy of Henry George was to serve as a mask, was becoming more and more apparent to the workingmen; that it was becoming clearer to Henry George himself; and that this knowledge was preying upon his mind, was graphically indicated by the description given of Henry George, as he looked twelve hours before he was smitten, by Alfred Henry Lewis:

"Henry George's eyes roved, his hair was tumbled, his face the theater of disorder. THERE WAS DESPAIR, TOO, IN HIS FACE, AS IF IN A DIM WAY HE LOOKED INTO A FUTURE BLACK WITH DISAPPOINTMENT."

Peace to the ashes of Henry George. A benign Providence removed him before election day, the day, when, had he lived until then, he would have suffered the crowning mortification of his life—the sight of the evidence that his Inane Single Tax theory had dwindled to nothingness, and that even with the most absurd, loud and hackstering system of boomer, given him by the capitalist conspirators, and accepted by him: his name had ceased to be one to conjure by, and that his struggles to stem the tide of Socialism were misapplied.

THE CHILDREN.

Demands Made For Education and Good Treatment.

The following class-conscious two resolutions which were presented by the Gas Workers' Union, a new trade unionist organization of England, at the recent National Convention of Labor, deserve careful perusal:

The first was: "Considering that the employment of children in factories, and workshops, and on board river and canal craft, and their consequent exploitation by the capitalist, is injurious to the children, unjust to their parents, and a crime against the human race; considering the infamous fact that the children of the working class have not the same opportunities of the class room and the playground as the children of the capitalist class; considering that in this connection Great Britain is behind other countries; considering that unhappy parents, under an unhappy system, are actually willing, and even anxious, to have their children torn from school and hurled into the factory—this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for Great Britain to cease building its empire on children's hearts, to give up coining its wealth out of children's wasted lives, and hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to demand as a temporary minimum from the government: (a) the abolition of child labor under the age of 15, and (b) of all night labor under the age of 18."

The second was: "This Congress emphatically condemns the education policy of the present government, and declares:

"1. That in this question of the education of the nation's children the workers should ever keep in view as their ideal the democratic principle of 'equality of opportunity,' and should not be satisfied until the highest educational advantages which the country affords are within the reach of all.

"2. That as it is a duty which the community owes to posterity to see that no future citizen lacks the requisites to a healthy development of body and mind, a measure should be brought before Parliament which shall empower school boards to provide food for the many thousands of starving and underfed children who are to be found in the people's schools throughout the country.

"3. That the half-time system be abolished; that the school age be raised to sixteen years, and such maintenance provided by the State as shall place among the workers which their highest welfare demands, and which it is the object of trade unionism to promote.

"4. That such reforms be at once made in the method of training the teachers of the nation's children as shall insure that in no case shall the difficult task of training the minds of young children be entrusted to those whose minds are undeveloped.

"5. The cost of educating the nation's children should be defrayed out of the National Exchequer, and should be met by the democratic administration of educational grants and endowments and graduated income tax on all incomes over £300, and graduated death duties.

"6. That the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to form a deputation, which shall wait upon the Education Minister, and urge the pressing necessity for the reforms here indicated."

S. L. P. Sections take Notice.

The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrows, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, N. Y.

"SOCIAL DEMOCRACY" COLONIZATION SWINDLE.

The below communication proceeds from a Comrade of unquestioned character, thoroughly qualified as an expert to speak on the subject that he writes upon. We publish it, undismayed, nay cheered, by the knowledge that the usual howl will go up, not alone from those who are hit, but also from their kindred whom the cap fits somehow or other, and who, the harder the facts, the more cogent the arguments with which their nefariously idiotic or idiotically nefarious schemes are assailed and crushed, become all the more indignant at the Socialist Labor party's tactics of "abuse," "tyranny," "dictatorship," etc., etc. We publish it, in strict pursuance of the sacred duty and only wise policy on the part of the organ of the American wing of the organized revolutionary movement of the world, to crush ruthlessly by the completest information and the hardest blows possible all and every scheme which, partly out of ignorance, partly out of corrupt motives, are numerously set afloat in America with preference, and can have no ultimate effect other than to delay the course of development, confuse the popular mind, and disgust the masses. The communication and enclosure tell the whole story. Here it is:

Editor THE PEOPLE, dear Comrade—Richard J. Hinton, of the Colonization Commission of Debs' Social Democracy, appears in the capitalist press in a lengthy interview on the subject of a certain purchase of land made by him for the colonization scheme, and booms the qualities of the said tract of land and its fitness.

Now, it so happens that for two years I was located upon the land in that very region as engineer and surveyor; I am intimately acquainted with it; I still have maps and notes prepared by myself which give information, probably not possessed by any other person, I can only say that Hinton's statements are false. The affair is a big "steal" on the workingmen. Stop it!

Enclosed is a rapid sketch of the land and the truth about it. If you want more information on any point write me. ENGINEER AND SURVEYOR.
Washington, D. C., Oct. 25, 1897.

The Truth about the Hinton Purchase of Tennessee Lands for the Debs Colony.

At last something definite has been done by the "Social Democracy." That organization has, according to statements made by the capitalist press, purchased or agreed to purchase 350,000 acres of land in Cumberland and Fentress Counties, Tenn., for the purpose of settling a colony of workers on the same. Richard J. Hinton, one of the leaders of the Debs organization, and chairman of the Colonization Committee, states that this land has cost him \$1,750,000, that is \$5 per acre. A capitalistic concern is going to take \$2,000,000 in bonds of the Commission organized to form this colony, thus paying for the land, and leaving \$250,000 with which to establish the colony. According to Hinton's statements, as put out in the newspapers, the said land contains coal, iron ore, potter's clay, three large farms under cultivation, several houses, a big saw mill, and nine miles of narrow gauge railroad. It is further stated that half the land is covered with excellent timber, and is valued at \$20 per acre. Also that the greater part of the tract is admirably adapted to agriculture. An abundance of corn can be raised and enough wheat to meet the demands of the colony. In addition to all this, the organization obtains several oil well locations, a flowing well, and a railway franchise for a line connecting Nashville and Knoxville, and giving the former city direct connection with New Orleans.

In other words, the Debs Company has, according to its views as expressed above, struck a "snap," and has gotten ahead of the capitalists in great shape. They have bought a large tract of land, one-half of which, viz., 175,000 acres, is worth twice what they paid for the whole tract, that is \$3,500,000.

Let us not, however, be carried away by the enthusiasm of the purchasers, but consider the actual facts in this case.

In the first place, let us correct those statements above which are unreliable. The "franchise for a railroad" is one of about nine which have been granted. It is worth about \$25. In Tennessee any certain number of persons, about five or ten, can apply to the Secretary of State for a franchise for a railroad, and upon complying with a few technicalities, in the preparation of the application, and paying a small fee, will be granted a franchise. The line to be built must be described. The franchise to which Hinton refers for a line to run down the Obed river to Harriman, and would cost, from estimates previously made, about \$300,000 per mile. The building will be nearly all rock-work and bridges for a large portion of the way, and very similar to the Cincinnati Southern, which averaged per mile the cost above mentioned.

The "big sawmill" referred to is a plant comprising a ten horse power portable engine, a small sawmill, and a corn-grinder.

The "nine miles of narrow gauge road" is a tram-road made of the slabs from the said sawmill, for ties, and some oak two-by-four scantling for rails. It was used for hauling logs from the woods to the sawmill, and the ROLLING STOCK COMPRISES AN OAK FRAME, FOUR WHEELS, AND A BRAKE. THE MOTIVE POWER TOWARD THE MILL IS GRAVITY: AWAY FROM THE MILL, A HORSE OR HAND POWER. The road runs from the mill toward Obed river, and as the latter is only about one and a half miles or thereabout from the sawmill, it is not seen how the nine miles of railroad is worked in. THE WHOLE TRAM-WAY, BEING OF WOOD, AND HAVING BEEN BUILT FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS, IS NOW PRETTY

WELL ROTTEN CUT. Furthermore, as it ends at or near the Obed river, which is in a canyon about 250 feet deep and 1,000 feet wide at this point, and as all the merchantable timber within a reasonable distance of this tram-road has been pretty well cleared out, the said tram-road IS PRACTICALLY USELESS IN ITS PRESENT POSITION. To remove it to another place would involve more expense in labor and twenty-penny nails than to saw some more scantling and build a new "narrow gauge railroad" nine (?) miles long.

This sawmill is 18 miles from Lansing, the nearest railroad station on the Cincinnati Southern. The wagon road to Lansing crosses Clear Creek, going down the bank on one side and up the opposite bank. Eastern people can hardly realize what this creek's banks are like. As a slight illustration it may be stated that those who cross the creek even with a light piano-box buggy generally have to get out and walk, leaving the horse only the buggy to pull up the hill, and to do this the horse must have a rest about two or three times before he gets to the top of the hill on either side.

On such a road, which has several other hills that are bad, IT IS NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE TO HAUL A LOAD OF ANY SIZE, AND THEREFORE THE SAW MILL WAS A FAILURE AS A FINANCIAL INVESTMENT.

The timber, which is described by Hinton as "excellent," has been examined by expert timber men and pronounced of questionable value. Nearly all the large poplar, which was mostly in ravines, has been cut out by previous owners.

The present timber is largely black oak, list oak, and rotten chestnut trees, thus being nearly worthless for any commercial purpose.

There is a limited amount of fair white oak, but nothing justifying the expression "excellent timber."

As to the "potter's clay," there is some sort of a clay which might, if mixed with other clays, be of some value, but the trouble is that so far no such other clay has been found, and thus the so-called potter's clay is of doubtful value. There is no clay on the mountain, so far found, which will make good brick. What has been found and used thus far produces a crumbly rotten brick, which is so poor that it is not of much value. One reason why good bricks cannot be, or, rather, have not been made, is that the clay requires mixing with sand, and there is no sand of any amount within reasonable handy distance, and no decent roads to haul it over.

The "iron ore," to which Hinton refers, is all in his eye, so far as any prospecting heretofore done has shown. Small pockets of a poor brown iron ore exist in places, but nothing of commercial value has thus far been discovered, although experts have done considerable prospecting for the same. Some geologists state that the geological formation is such on the mountain proper, where the land is located, that it is useless to expect iron ore in paying quantities or richness. It is true, there is fine iron ore on the sides of the mountain, BUT THAT IS NOT ON THIS LAND, AND IS IN A DIFFERENT GEOLOGICAL FORMATION.

That there is coal on the land, or, rather, under it, is no doubt true, as there are several outcrops in some of the ravines. But coal lands in this part of the country are so plentiful that it might be said to have no value until developed, and the developing is an extensive business. Moreover, THE SEAMS OF COAL ARE BADLY FRACTURED, SO THAT AFTER A MINE HAS BEEN OPENED AND DRIFTS RUN, IT IS NO UNCOMMON THING TO FIND THE SEAM RUN OUT AFTER A SHORT DISTANCE, AND A NEW ENTRY MUST THEN BE STARTED AT SOME OTHER POINT. THIS HAS BEEN THE EXPERIENCE IN MOST OF THE SURROUNDING MINES.

Furthermore, what is to be done with this coal, even after it is mined. So far as heating and cooking purposes are concerned, the colony could use the small timber around their houses, and if they did strike a paying seam, they could mine more coal in a short time than they could use for domestic purposes in a long while. They have no railroads to deliver the coal to places where it is wanted for manufacturing purposes, they have no iron ore to work up for commercial purposes, they have no limestone for flux in smelting the ore if there were any such ore to be found, and to build such a railroad will cost an enormous amount of money.

As to the statement that "the greater part of the soil is admirably adapted to agriculture," Hinton had better wait until he has tried it. It is inconceivable that any sane man having any knowledge of what good agricultural land is could apply such a term to the shallow, rocky, stumpy, hilly, clayey soil which the poor devils who settle in this new colony will have to work.

As an illustration, a would-be settler once asked an old resident down there how deep the soil was. The old resident slowly wet his forefinger in his mouth, reached down and touched the ground, and pointing to the dirt which had stuck to his finger he said: "That's how deep it is."

The "three large farms" referred to as under cultivation are samples of the "admirableness" of the agricultural land. Large sheets of rock stick out where the dirt has been washed away, rocks, stumps and hillside assisting in reducing the crop growing acreage to such an extent AS TO MAKE FARMING ON THESE PLACES ALMOST A FAILURE.

Without going into further detail to show the facts in connection with this land, it is enough to trace up some of the recent history connected with it.

The land was bought by the East Tennessee Land Company a few years ago at from \$1.50 to \$3 per acre, the latter price being paid for that part which contained "the town site of Geneva, where the 'big saw mill,' 'nine miles of narrow gauge railroad,' and 'large farms' were located. The latter improvements were the outcome of an attempt by energetic parties with money to settle up their land. Failing in this, owing to the bad roads, poor land, poor timber, and inability to obtain railroad facilities the land was sold to the East Tennessee Land Co.

This company wanted a large tract to use as a foundation for interesting capitalists in the building of a city at Emory Gap, and as it would sound well to say that the company had 350,000 acres, they bought the same at a nominal figure. When the "boom" was on

in the South, about 1890 to 1891, the town of Harriman was built, in a first class location, about 28 miles from the land which Debs is buying, and at the head of the Tennessee valley, a fine farming country. The town company had millions of dollars and spent it in inducing factories and mills to locate in the new town, and in furnishing all the requirements of a modern city. "Hard times" coming on about the time the company's money was exhausted, it became difficult to do anything further at that time. The 350,000 acres was of no further value to the company, since it had served its purpose as an advertisement and since they had all the fine timber, coal, limestone and agricultural land which could be required for years to come. Hence we see this deal.

Land which cost from \$1.50 to \$3 per acre in 1889, and which is worth less to-day, owing to the depreciation in land values, has been sold for \$5 per acre. To make the trade go through \$250,000 is being offered as a loan, the whole indebtedness being secured by a broad mortgage on the land. Now, who is going to pay the enormous profit? Either the workmen throughout the country will be bled for subscriptions, or the poor devils of colonists will be expected to deposit the surplus wealth which "we create," as Hinton expresses it. If the latter is the expectation, the Debs company might as well quit now, since the body of new settlers will not have any surplus wealth to deposit; for they are commencing a hand to mouth existence. Debs will have to drop all talk about an eight-hour day when he gets the colony under way, for it will require labor from sun-up to sun-down in that country in order to make a bare existence. It is probable that Debs, Hinton & Co. are aware of all these facts, but while the colonists are finding them out there may be a chance to handle the \$250,000, and, of course, it is to be presumed the leaders WILL BE PAID A SALARY FOR CAREFULLY ATTENDING TO THEIR BUSINESS INTERESTS OF THE COLONY.

When the poor colonists have been roped in, and by their labors have created homes for themselves, if they ever reach that point, they will find the mortgage on the property foreclosed owing to their inability to pay it off, and the results of their labor will be taken from them.

In other words, even if everything goes well, the colonists are a lot of serfs for the land owners, and must slave day after day to turn over all their surplus wealth to the capitalists who have sold the land.

This is the sum and substance of the whole scheme which Hinton is now booming, and it will be a fitting climax to Debs-Hinton & Company's leadership.

Laboring men will do well to keep their eyes on this scheme.

It might also be well to ask the Debs-Hinton trust how much commission they will get out of this \$750,000 profit which is to be paid on this land. Or is this one more instance in which the Debs "Social Democracy," being caught in crookedness, the people are to be told that Debs is a saint, but in the hands of "wicked partners?"

ENGINEER AND SURVEYOR.



LINCOLN & BROTHERS, N.Y.

Brother Jonathan—If I were two hundred pounds lighter I would skip, and I would jump, and I would turn somersaults, so happy am I.

Uncle Sam—And why all that?

B. J.—Would you not be glad of the prospect of a good work and high wages?

U. S.—I would.

B. J.—And would you not be glad to enjoy personal liberty?

U. S.—No doubt.

B. J.—And that's why I am glad. Now that Tammany Hall has won, we may look to good work, high wages and personal liberty.

U. S.—As to "personal liberty" will you be able to work when you like, and at what you like, now that Tammany has been elected, any more than before?

B. J.—Well—

U. S.—You will just as before have a job to be able to live provided a boss capitalist is willing to employ you, just as before, eh?

B. J.—Yes, but—

U. S.—And, as to high wages, will the election of Tammany stop the introduction of machinery, and thereby prevent the displacement of labor, and thereby increase the demand for labor over the supply, and thereby raise the price of labor, and thereby raise your wages?

B. J.—Well—

U. S.—Or will the election of Tammany destroy the machinery we have now, which causes the supply of labor now to be so far above the demand that wages are low? Will it, eh?

B. J.—No—but—

U. S.—Consequently the election of Tammany leaves the wages and the labor question just where they were before election. You will have no more personal liberty, and your wages will continue to go down. Capitalism deprived you of personal liberty and lowered your wages; capitalism remains untouched—Tammany or no Tammany—what have you gained?

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—Those who like you are now happy at Tammany's victory, and the others who would have been happy at Low's or Tracy's election, will and yourselves ground down henceforth as before. Possibly you may learn, but possibly you may have to die and make room for more intelligent workmen, who, occupying the space you now occupy, will use it to better purpose than you do. In the meantime don't blame anyone but yourself if you starve.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

By KARL MARX.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

(Continued.)

Not only was the parliamentary party dissolved into its two great fractions, not only was each of these dissolved within itself, but the party of Order, inside of the parliament, was at odds with the party of Order, outside of the parliament. The learned speakers and writers of the bourgeoisie, their tribunes and their press, in short, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie itself, the representatives and the represented, stood estranged from, and no longer understood one another.

The Legitimists in the provinces, with their cramped horizon and their boundless enthusiasm, charged their parliamentary leaders Berryer and Falloux with desertion to the Bonapartist camp, and with apostasy from Henry V. Their ill-sense¹ believed in the fall of man, but not in diplomacy.

More fatal and complete, though different, was the breach between the commercial bourgeoisie and its politicians. It twitted them, not as the Legitimists did theirs, with having apostatized from their principle, but, on the contrary, with adhering to principles that had become useless.

I have already indicated that, since the entry of Fould in the Ministry, that portion of the commercial bourgeoisie that had enjoyed the lion's share in Louis Philippe's reign, to wit, the aristocracy of finance, had become Bonapartist. Fould not only represented Bonaparte's interests at the Bourse, he represented also the interests of the Bourse with Bonaparte. A passage from the London "Economist," the European organ of the aristocracy of finance, described most strikingly the attitude of this class. In its issue of February 1, 1851, its Paris correspondent writes: "Now we have it stated from numerous quarters that France wishes above all things for repose. The President declares it in his message to the Legislative Assembly; it is echoed from the tribune; it is asserted in the journals; it is announced from the pulpit; it is demonstrated by the sensitiveness of the public funds at the least prospect of disturbance, and their firmness the instant it is made manifest that the Executive is far superior in wisdom and power to the factious ex-officials of all former governments."

In its issue of November 29, 1851, the "Economist" declares editorially: "The President is now recognized as the guardian of order on every Stock Exchange of Europe." Accordingly, the ARISTOCRACY OF FINANCE condemned the parliamentary strife of the party of Order with the Executive as a "disturbance of order," and hailed every victory of the President over its reputed representatives as a "victory of order." Under "aristocracy of finance" must not, however, be understood merely the large bond negotiators and speculators in government securities, of whom it may be readily understood that their interests and the interests of the Government coincide. The whole modern money trade, the whole banking industry, is most intimately interwoven with the public credit. Part of their business capital requires to be invested in interest-bearing government securities that are promptly convertible into money; their deposits, i. e., the capital placed at their disposal and by them distributed among merchants and industrial establishments, flow partly out of the dividends on government securities. The whole money market, together with the priests of this market, is part and parcel of this "aristocracy of finance" at every epoch when the stability of the government is to them synonymous with "Moses and his prophets." This is so even before things have reached the present stage when every deluge threatens to carry away the old governments themselves.

But the INDUSTRIAL BOURGEOISIE also, in its fanaticism for order, was annoyed at the quarrels of the Parliamentary party of order with the Executive. Thiers, Anglas, Sainte Beuve, etc., received, after their vote of January 18, on the occasion of the discharge of Changarnier, public reprimands from their constituents, located in the industrial districts, branding their coalition with the Mountain as an act of high treason to the cause of order. Although, true enough, the boastful, voracious and petty intrigues, through which the struggle of the party of Order with the President manifested itself, deserved no better reception, yet notwithstanding, this bourgeois party, that expects of its representatives to allow the military power to pass without resistance out of the hands of their own Parliament into those of an adventurous Pretender, is not worth even the intrigues that were wasted in its behalf. It showed that the struggle for the maintenance of their public interests, of their class interests, of their political power only incommoded and displeased them as a disturbance of their private business.

The bourgeois dignitaries of the provincial towns, the magistrates, commercial judges, etc., with hardly any exception, received Bonaparte everywhere on his excursions in the most civil manner, even when, as in Dijon, he attacked the National Assembly and especially the party of Order without reserve.

Business being brisk, as still at the beginning of 1851, the commercial bourgeoisie stormed against every Parliamentary strife, lest business be put out of temper. Business being dull, as from the end of February, 1851, on, the bourgeoisie accused the Parliamentary strifes as the cause of the standstill, and clamored for quiet in order that business may revive. The debates on revision fell just in the bad times. Seeing the question now was to be or not to be of the existing form of government, the bourgeoisie felt itself all the more justified to demand of its Representatives that they put an end to this tormenting provisional status, and preserve the "status quo." This was no contradiction. By putting an end to the provisional status, it understood its continuance, the indefinite putting off of the moment when a final decision had to be arrived at. The "status quo" could be preserved in only one of two ways; either by the prolongation of Bonaparte's term of office or by his constitutional withdrawal and the election of Cavaignac. A part of the bourgeoisie preferred the latter solution, and knew no better advice to give their Representatives than to be silent, to avoid the burning point. If their Representatives did not speak, so argued they, Bonaparte would not act. They desired an ostrich Parliament that would hide its head, in order not to be seen. Another part of the bourgeoisie preferred that Bonaparte, being once in the Presidential chair, be left in the Presidential chair, in order that everything might continue to run in the old ruts. They felt indignant that their Parliament did not openly break the Constitution, and resign without further ado.

The General Councils of the Departments, these provisional representative bodies of the large bourgeoisie, who had adjourned during the vacation of the National Assembly since August 25, pronounced almost unanimously for revision, that is to say, against the Parliament and for Bonaparte.

Still more unequivocally than in its falling out with its Parliamentary Representatives, did the bourgeoisie exhibit its wrath at its literary Representatives, its own press. The verdicts of the bourgeois juries, inflicting excessive fines and shameless sentences of imprisonment for every attack of the bourgeois press upon the usurping aspirations of Bonaparte, for every attempt of the press to defend the political rights of the bourgeoisie against the Executive power, threw, not France alone, but all Europe into amazement.

While, on the one hand, as I have indicated, the Parliamentary party of Order ordered itself to keep the peace by screaming for peace; and while it pronounced the political role of the bourgeoisie irreconcilable with the safety and the existence of the bourgeoisie, by destroying with its own hands in its struggle with the other classes of society all the conditions for its own, the Parliamentary régime; on the other hand, the mass of the bourgeoisie, outside of the Parliament, urged Bonaparte—by its servility towards the President, by its insults to the Parliament, by the brutal treatment of its own press—to suppress and annihilate its speaking and writing organs, its politicians and its literary, its orators' tribune and its press, to the end that, under the protection of a strong and unhampered Government, it might ply its own private pursuits in safety. It declared unmistakably that it longed to be rid of its own political role, in order to escape the troubles and dangers of ruling.

And this bourgeoisie, that had rebelled against even the Parliamentary and literary contest for the supremacy of its own class, that had betrayed its leaders in this contest, it now has the effrontery to blame the proletariat for not having risen in its defence in a bloody struggle, in a struggle for life! Those bourgeois, who at every turn, sacrificed their common class interests to narrow and dirty private interests, and who demanded a similar sacrifice from their own Representatives, now whine that the proletariat has sacrificed their ideal-political to its own material interests! This bourgeois class now strikes the attitude of a pure soul, misunderstood and abandoned, at a critical moment, by the proletariat, that has been misled by the Socialists. And its cry finds a general echo in the bourgeois world. Of course, I do not refer to German cross-road politicians and kindred blockheads. I refer, for instance, to the "Economist," which, as late as November 29, 1851, that is to say, four days before the "coup d'état" pronounced Bonaparte the "Guardian of Order" and Thiers and Berryer "Anarchists," and as early as December 27, 1851, after Bonaparte had silenced those very Anarchists, cries out about the treason committed by "the ignorant, untrained and stupid proletaires against the skill, knowledge, discipline, mental influence, intellectual resources and moral weight of the middle and upper ranks." The stupid, ignorant and contemptible mass was none other than the bourgeois itself.

France had, indeed, experienced a sort of commercial crisis in 1851. At the end of February, there was a falling off of exports as compared with 1850; in March, business languished and factories shut down; in April, the condition of the industrial departments seemed as desperate as after the February days; in May, business did not yet pick up; as late as June 28, the reports of the Bank of France revealed through a tremendous increase of deposits and an equal decrease of loans on exchange notes, the standstill of production; not until the middle of October did a steady improvement of business set in. The French bourgeoisie accounted for this stagnation of business with purely political reasons; it imputed the dull times to the strife between the Parliament and the Executive power, to the uncertainty of a provisional form of government, to the alarming prospects of May 2, 1852. I shall not deny that all these causes did depress some branches of industry in Paris and in the Departments. At any rate, this effect of political circumstances was only local and trifling. Is there any other proof needed than that the improvement in business set in at the very time when the political situation was growing worse, when the political horizon was growing darker, and when at every moment a stroke of lightning was expected out of the Elysée—in the middle of October? The French bourgeoisie, whose "skill, knowledge, mental influence and intellectual resources" reach no further than his nose, could, moreover, during the whole period of the industrial Exposition in London, have struck with his nose the cause of his own business misery. At the same time that in France, the factories were being closed, commercial failures broke out in England. While the industrial panic reached its height during April and May in France, in England the commercial panic reached its height during April and May. The same as the French, the English woolen industries suffered, and, as the French, so did the English silk manufacture. Though the English cotton factories went on working, it, nevertheless, was not with the

same old profit of 1849 and 1850. The only difference was this: that in France, the crisis was an industrial, in England it was a commercial one; that while in France the factories stood still, they spread themselves in England, but under less favorable circumstances than they had done during the years just previous; that, in France, the export, in England, the import trade suffered the heaviest blows. The common cause, which, as a matter of fact, is not to be looked for within the bounds of the French political horizon, was obvious. The years 1849 and 1850 were years of the greatest material prosperity, and of an overproduction that did not manifest itself until 1851. This was especially promoted at the beginning of 1851 by the prospect of the industrial Exposition; and, as special causes were added, first, the failure of the cotton crop of 1850 and 1851; second, the certainty of a larger cotton crop than was expected; first, the rise, then the sudden drop; in short, the oscillations of the cotton market. The crop of raw silk in France had been below the average. Finally, the manufacture of woolen goods had received such an increment since 1849, that the production of wool could not keep step with it, and the price of the raw material rose greatly out of proportion to the price of the manufactured goods. Accordingly, we have here in the raw material of three staple articles a threefold material for a commercial crisis. Apart from these special circumstances, the seeming crisis of the year 1851 was, after all, nothing but the halt that overproduction and overpeculation make regularly in the course of the industrial cycle, before pulling all their forces together in order to rush feverishly over the last stretch, and arrive again at their point of departure—the GENERAL COMMERCIAL CRISIS. At such intervals in the history of trade, commercial failures break out in England, while, in France, industry itself is stopped partly because it is compelled to retreat through the competition of the English, that, at such times becomes resistless in all markets, and partly because, as an industry of luxuries, it is affected with preference by every stoppage in trade. Thus, besides the general crises, France experiences her own national crises, which, however, are determined by and conditioned upon the general state of the world's market much more than by local French influences. It will not be devoid of interest to contrast the prejudice of the French bourgeois with the judgment of the English bourgeois. One of the largest Liverpool firms writes in its yearly report of trade for 1851: "Few years have more completely disappointed the expectations entertained at their beginning than the year that has just passed; instead of the great prosperity that was unanimously looked forward to, it proved itself one of the most discouraging years during the last quarter of a century. This applies, of course, only to the mercantile, not to the industrial classes. And yet, surely there were grounds at the beginning of the year from which to draw a contrary conclusion: the stock of products was scanty, capital was abundant, provisions cheap, a rich autumn was assured, there was uninterrupted peace on the continent and no political and financial disturbances at home; indeed, never were the kings of trade more unshackled. . . . What is this absurd result to be ascribed to. We believe to excessive trade in imports as well as exports. If our merchants do not themselves rein in their activity, nothing can keep us going, except a panic every three years."

Imagine now the French bourgeois, in the midst of this business panic, having his trade-sick brain tortured, buzzed at and deafened with rumors of a "coup d'état" and the restoration of universal suffrage, with the struggle between the Legislature and the Executive, with the Fronde warfare between Orleansists and Legitimists, with communistic conspiracies in southern France, with alleged Jacobinism in the Departments of Nièvre and Cher, with the adventurism of the several candidates for President, with "social solutions" huckstered about by the journals, with the threats of the republicans to uphold, arm in hand, the Constitution and universal suffrage, with the gospels according to the emigrant heroes "in partibus," who announced the destruction of the world for May 2.—Imagine that, and one can understand how the bourgeois, in this unspeakable and noisy confusion of fusion, revision, prorogation, constitution, conspiracy, coalition, emigration, usurpation and revolution, blurs out at his parliamentary republic: "RATHER AN END WITH FRIGHT, THAN A FRIGHT WITHOUT END!"

Bonaparte understood this cry. His perspicacity was sharpened by the growing anxiety of the creditors' class, who, with every sunset, that brought nearer the day of payment, the 2d of May, 1852, saw in the motion of the stars a protest against their earthly drafts. They had become genuine astrologers. The National Assembly had cut off Bonaparte's hope of a constitutional prolongation of his term: the candidature of the Prince of Joinville tolerated no further vacillation.

If ever an event cast its shadow before it long before its occurrence, it was Bonaparte's "coup d'état." Already on January 29, 1849, barely a month after his election, he had made to Changarnier a proposition to that effect. His own Prime Minister, Odilon Barrot, had covertly, in 1849, and openly, in the winter of 1850, revealed to Thiers the scheme of the "coup d'état." In May, 1851, Persigny had again sought to win Changarnier over to the "coup," and the "Messager de l'Assemblée" newspaper had published this conversation. At every parliamentary storm, the Bonapartist papers threatened a "coup," and the nearer the crises approached, all the louder grew their tone. At the orgies, that Bonaparte celebrated every night with a swell mob of males and females, every time the hour of midnight drew nigh and pious libations had loosened the tongues and heated the minds of the revelers, the "coup" was resolved upon for the next morning. Swords were then drawn, glasses clinked, the Representatives were thrown out at the windows, the imperial mantle fell upon the shoulders of Bonaparte, until the next morning again drove away the spook, and astonished Paris learned, from not very reserved Vestals and indiscreet Paladins, the danger that it had once more escaped. During the months of September and October, the rumors of a "coup d'état" tumbled close upon one another's heels. At the same time the shadow gathered color, like a confused daguerreotype. Follow the issues of the European daily press for the months of September and October, and items like this will be found literally:

Rumors of a "coup" fill Paris. The capital, it is said, is to be filled with troops by night, and the next morning decrees are to be issued dissolving the National Assembly, placing the Department of the Seine in state of siege, restoring universal suffrage, and appealing to the people. Bonaparte is rumored to be looking for Ministers to execute these illegal decrees.

The correspondence to the newspapers bringing this news close always ominously with "postponed." The "coup" was ever the fixed idea of Bonaparte. With this idea he had stepped again upon French soil. It had such full possession of him that he was constantly betraying and blabbering it out. He was so weak that he was constantly giving it up again. The shadow of the "coup" had become so familiar a spectre to the Parisians, that they refused to believe it when it finally did appear in flesh and blood. Consequently, it was neither the reticent backwardness of the chief of the "Society of December 10," nor an unthought of surprise of the National Assembly that caused the success of the "coup." When it succeeded, it did so despite his indiscretion and with its anticipation—a necessary, unavoidable result of the development that had preceded.

On October 10, Bonaparte announced to his Minister his decision to restore universal suffrage; on the 16th they handed in their resignations; on the 26th Paris learned of the formation of the Thierigny Ministry. The Prefect of Police, Carlier, was simultaneously replaced by Maupas; and the chief of the First Military Division Mazan, concentrated the most reliable regiments in the capital. On November 4, the National Assembly re-opened its sessions. There was nothing left for it to do but to repeat in a short recapitulation the course it had traversed, and to prove that it had been buried only after it had expired.

The first post that it had forfeited in the struggle with the Executive was the Ministry. It had solemnly to admit this loss by accepting as genuine the Thierigny Ministry, which was but a pretence. The Permanent Committee had received Mr. Girard with laughter when he introduced himself in the name of the new Ministers. So weak a Ministry for so strong a measure as the restoration of universal suffrage! The question, however, then was to do nothing IN, everything AGAINST the parliament.

On the very day of its re-opening, the National Assembly received the message from Bonaparte demanding the restoration of universal suffrage and the repeal of the law of May 31, 1850. On the same day, his Ministers introduced a decree to that effect. The Assembly promptly rejected the motion of urgency made by the Ministers, but repealed the law itself, on November 13, with 355 votes against 348. Thus it once more tore to pieces its own mandate, once more certified to the fact that it had transformed itself from a freely chosen representative body of the nation into the usurpatory parliament of a class; it once more admitted that it had itself severed the muscles that connected the parliamentary head with the body of the nation.

While the Executive power appealed from the National Assembly to the people, by its motion for the restoration of universal suffrage, the Legislative power appealed from the people to the Army by its "Queaestors' Bill." This bill was to establish its right to immediate requisitions for troops, to build up a parliamentary army. By thus appointing the Army umpire between itself and the people, between itself and Bonaparte; by thus recognizing the Army as the decisive power in the State, the National Assembly was constrained to admit that it had long given up all claim to supremacy. By debating the right to make requisitions for troops, instead of forthwith collecting them, it betrayed its own doubts touching its own power. By subsequently rejecting the "Queaestors' Bill," it publicly confessed its impotence. This bill fell through with a minority of 108 votes; the Mountain had, accordingly, thrown the casting vote. It now found itself in the predicament of Buridan's donkey, not, indeed, between two sacks of hay, forced to decide which of the two was the more attractive, but between two showers of blows, forced to decide which of the two was the harder: fear of Changarnier, on one side, fear of Bonaparte, on the other. It must be admitted that the position was not a heroic one.

On November 18, an amendment was moved to the Act, passed by the party of Order, on municipal elections to the effect that, instead of three years, a domicile of one year should suffice. The amendment was lost by a single vote—but this vote, it soon transpired, was a mistake. Owing to the divisions within its own hostile factions, the party of Order had long since forfeited its independent parliamentary majority. It now showed that there was no longer any majority in the parliament. The National Assembly had become impotent even to decide. Its atomic parts were no longer held together by any cohesive power; it had expended its last breath. It was dead.

Finally, the mass of the bourgeoisie, outside of the parliament, was once more solemnly to confirm its rupture with the bourgeoisie inside of the parliament a few days before the catastrophe. Thiers, as a parliamentary hero conspicuously smitten by that incurable disease—Parliamentary Idiocy—had hatched out jointly with the Council of State, after the death of the parliament, a new parliamentary intrigue in the shape of a "Responsibility Law," that was intended to lock up the President within the walls of the Constitution. The same as, on September 15, Bonaparte bewitched the fishwives, like a second Massaniello, on the occasion of laying the corner-stone for the Market of Paris, though, it must be admitted, one fishwife was equal to seventeen Burgesses in real power; the same as, after the introduction of the "Queaestors' Bill," he enthused the lieutenants, who were being treated at the Elysée;—so, likewise, did he now, on November 25, carry away with him the industrial bourgeoisie, assembled at the Circus, to receive from his hands the prize-medals that had

Peasant revolts.

been awarded at the London Industrial Exposition. I here reproduce the typical part of his speech, from the "Journal des Débats":

"With such unhelped for successes, I am justified to repeat how great the French republic would be if she were only allowed to pursue her real interests, and reform her institutions, instead of being constantly disturbed in this by demagogues, on one side, and, on the other, by monarchic hallucinations. (Loud, stormy and continued applause from all parts of the amphitheater.) The monarchic hallucinations hamper all progress and all serious departments of industry. Instead of progress, we have struggle only. Men, formerly the most zealous supporters of royal authority and prerogative, become the partisans of a convention that has no purpose other than to weaken an authority that is born of universal suffrage. (Loud and prolonged applause.) We see men, who have suffered most from the revolution and complained bitterly of it, provoking a new one for the sole purpose of putting fetters on the will of the nation. I promise you peace for the future." (Bravo! Bravo! Stormy bravos.)

Thus the industrial bourgeoisie shouts its servile "Bravo!" to the "Comp d'état" of December 2, to the destruction of the parliament, to the downfall of their own reign, to the dictatorship of Bonaparte. The roar of the applause of November 25 was responded by the roar of cannon on December 4, and the house of Mr. Sallandrouze, who had been loudest in applauding, was the one demolished by most of the bombs.

Cromwell, when he dissolved the Long Parliament, walked alone into its midst, pulled out his watch in order that the body should not continue to exist one minute beyond the term fixed for it by him, and drove out each individual member with gay and humorous invectives. Napoleon, smaller than his prototype, at least went on, the 18th Brumaire into the legislative body, and, though in a tremulous voice, read to it its sentence of death. The second Bonaparte, who, moreover, found himself in possession of an executive power very different from that of either Cromwell or Napoleon, did not look for his muster in the annals of universal history, but in the annals of the "Society of December 10," in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. He robs the Bank of France of twenty-five million francs; buys General Magnan with one million and the soldiers with fifteen francs and a drink a piece; comes secretly together with his accomplices like a thief by night; has the houses of the most dangerous leaders in the parliament broken into; Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Ledô, Changarnier, Charraa, Thiers, Baze, etc., taken out of their beds; the principal places of Paris, the building of the parliament included, occupied with troops; and, early the next morning, loud-sounding placards posted on all the walls proclaiming the dissolution of the National Assembly and of the Council of State, the restoration of universal suffrage, and the placing of the Department of the Seine under the state of siege. In the same way he shortly after sneaked into the "Moniteur" a false document, according to which influential parliamentary names had grouped themselves around him in a Committee of the Nation.

Amidst the cry: "Long live the Republic!" the rump-parliament, assembled at the Mayor's building of the Tenth Arrondissement, and composed mainly of Legitimists and Orleansists, resolves to depose Bonaparte; it harangues in vain the gaping mass gathered before the building, and is finally dragged first, under the escort of African sharpshooters, to the barracks of Orsay, and then bundled up into convicts' wagons, and transported to the prisons of Mazas, Ham and Vincennes. Thus ended the party of Order, the legislative assembly of the February revolution.

Before hastening to the end, let us sum up shortly the plan of its history: I.—FIRST PERIOD. From February 24 to May 4, 1848. February period. Prologue. Universal fraternity swindle.

II.—SECOND PERIOD. Period in which the republic is constituted, and of the constitutional National Assembly.

1. May 4 to June 25, 1848. Struggle of all the classes against the proletariat. Defeat of the proletariat in the June days.

2. June 25 to December 10, 1848. Dictatorship of the pure bourgeois republicans. Drafting of the Constitution. The state of siege hangs over Paris. The bourgeois dictatorship set aside on December 10 by the election of Bonaparte as President.

3. December 20, 1848, to May 29, 1849. Struggle of the constituent Assembly with Bonaparte and with the united party of Order. Death of the constituent assembly. Downfall of the republican bourgeoisie.

III.—THIRD PERIOD. Period of the constitutional republic and of the legislative National Assembly.

1. May 29 to June 13, 1849. Struggle of the small traders', middle class with the bourgeoisie and with Bonaparte. Defeat of the small traders' democracy.

2. June 13, 1849, to May, 1850. Parliamentary dictatorship of the party of Order. Completes its reign by the abolition of universal suffrage, but loses the parliamentary Ministry.

3. May 31, 1850, to December 2, 1851. Struggle between the parliamentary bourgeoisie and Bonaparte.

a. May 31, 1850, to January 12, 1851. The parliament loses the supreme command over the Army.

b. January 12 to April 11, 1851. The parliament succumbs in the attempts to regain possession of the administrative power. The party of Order loses its independent parliamentary majority. Its coalition with the republicans and the Mountain.

c. April 11 to October 9, 1851. Attempts at revision, fusion and prorogation. The party of Order dissolves into its component parts. The breach between the bourgeois parliament and the bourgeois press, on the one hand, and the bourgeois mass, on the other, becomes permanent.

d. October 9 to December 2, 1851. Open breach between the parliament and the executive power. It draws up its own decree of death, and goes under, left in the lurch by its own class, by the Army, and by all the other classes. Downfall of the parliamentary régime and of the reign of the bourgeoisie, Bonaparte's triumph. Period of the imperialist restoration.

(To be Continued.)

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Champa St., Cleveland, O.

California.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Oct. 27.—Section San Francisco, S. L. P., has just held a convention to put up candidates to represent the Socialist program before the public at a special election to be held in this city on the 27th of the coming December, when fifteen freeholders are to be elected for the purpose of framing a new charter for the government of San Francisco. The charter that will be framed will have to be first approved by the electors before becoming the law, three or four previous attempts having failed to carry. Owing to the great amount of interest taken in this matter by all classes of citizens, we think the time unusually favorable for the propaganda of our ideas, and hope that the comrades by the Golden Gate will give a good account of themselves on election day. As the vote of our party in this city was more than doubled last election, and as our public and street meetings have been carried on vigorously ever since, we have every reason to expect a substantial increase of votes at the polls where alone we can make ourselves felt at present. It is an old trick of the professional politicians to ignore the voters, but luckily for us they cannot ignore the votes.

The following comrades were chosen to represent the S. L. P.:

Geo. Ames, Geo. Aspin, A. Conli, W. Costley, D. J. Ellis, Oliver Everett, E. Furrer, Emil Lless, Carl Petersen, H. F. Sahlander, O. Seifert, S. Seiler, Geo. Speed, H. Warneke, Sr., and F. R. Whitney, and the following is the platform adopted by the convention:

"The Socialist Labor party, in convention assembled, reaffirms the declaration of rights contained in the National platform of the Socialist Labor party of the United States of America, and reasserts its determination to achieve by political and constitutional means, the substitution of the co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth where the means of production and distribution shall be owned and operated by the people collectively. "This being our aim, and believing its realization can be hastened by the abolition of special privileges to private interests and the enactment of just laws for the good of all, we have formulated the following platform, and pledge our nominees, if elected, to incorporate in the proposed new charter to be submitted to the electors of San Francisco, the following

DEMANDS.

"I.—The Board of Supervisors to be a

large body, to whom shall be given full executive powers. They shall be elected according to the principle of proportional representation from the city at large.

"II.—The veto power of the Mayor to be abolished, and direct veto by the people (sometimes called the referendum) to be substituted therefor.

"III.—The people to have the right to initiate legislation by petition.

"IV.—The acquisition by the municipality, and at the earliest possible date, of all public utilities now carried on under franchises: the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration, and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

"V.—The Board of Supervisors to be prohibited from extending any existing franchise or granting any new franchise without the approval of the people, expressed at a general or special election.

"VI.—The profits arising from the conduct of public utilities by the municipality to be used for the following purposes:

"First—The establishment of a fund for pensioning sick, aged or disabled employees and other citizens.

"Second—The enlarging and extension of the service as required by the growth of the city.

"VII.—The abolition of the contract system on public works, and the substitution thereof of the direct employment of labor by the municipality. Eight hours to constitute the maximum day's labor, and \$2 per day the minimum pay.

"VIII.—The establishment of public halls and public parks, where public meetings may be held without expense to the participants.

"IX.—The abolition of the license tax on any business, industry or occupation.

"X.—School books as a necessary part of the educational system, and free meals to be furnished all school children; clothing to be furnished free upon application.

"While we realize the restrictions imposed by the existing State and National Constitutions on the full realization of the SOCIALIST PROGRAM, we yet consider it our duty to point the way to future progress on evolutionary lines, by making the following

RECOMMENDATIONS.

"First—The establishment of municipal markets, wood and coal yards, public baths and laundries.

"Second—The furnishing of free, competent medical attendance by the municipality at the homes of all applicants, and the establishment of municipal drug stores, where PURE and UNADULTERATED articles may be procured at cost prices by the citizens.

"Third—The acquisition by the city of unimproved land, and the erection thereon of sanitary and commodious dwellings, to be rented at a rental covering sinking fund, plus estimated repairs.

"Fourth—That necessary funds for these purposes be raised by direct tax-

¹ An allusion to the lilies of the Bourbon coat-of-arms.

Address all letters and money orders to **THE PEOPLE**, 184 William street, New York City.

Frank Randall, Cranston street, No
Parade street.